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# Grapevines in Ashurbanipal's Garden\*

PAULINE ALBENDA

Among the decorated rooms of the seventh century B.C. North Palace of Ashurbanipal in Nineveh, several large fragmentary reliefs depict an idyllic episode in which there appear musicians with stringed instruments, servants leading hunting-dogs, striding or relaxing lions and a recumbent lioness.<sup>1</sup> A row of alternating date-palms and coniferous trees with vines twining around their trunks provides the backdrop for this enchanting scene. Blossoming flowers and shrubs occur, too, and are a charming addition to the tranquil setting. This combination of human, wild animal, and foliage elements within a single composition, while attested in Assyrian sculptural art dealing with hunting scenes,<sup>2</sup> is unique on these reliefs for the unexpected peaceful relationship between man and lion, and for details of flowering plants inside a formal landscaped garden.<sup>3</sup>

On the reliefs the contours of the flowers have been simplified but are nonetheless remarkable for the exactitude of essential features so that specific types can be distinguished. In one section three flowers in a cluster, each growing on a long plain stem, are depicted with the upper floral portion turned frontally and thereby reveal the main outlines as if seen from above (Figs. 1-2). These tall ray flowers, consisting of a central disk surrounded by petal-like flowers, resemble the Ox-eye Sunflower, a member of the *Carduaceae* family of wild flowers often found along the roadside and in fields.<sup>4</sup>

Nearby, flowers in a profile rendering with petals in a trefoil arrangement are distinctive as belonging to the Lily Family, one of a series of true lilies (*lilium*; Figs. 3-4).<sup>5</sup> They bloom on slender stems possessing parallel rows of long, narrow leaves of diminishing lengths. Several stages of a blossoming lily can be observed: a closed bud, a partially opened bud, and a lily in full bloom. Flowering lilies constituted a popular ingredient of Ashurbanipal's garden, to judge by their re-appearance in scenes with a related setting on a group of reliefs in three registers from Room S in the same palace. There, in one section of the middle register, is represented a female servant in the act of plucking flowers from their stems,<sup>6</sup> and elsewhere another attendant carries in one hand a bunch of lilies upon a flat reed basket, while grasping a

blossom in the other upraised hand (Fig. 5).<sup>7</sup> From this last series of reliefs it is clear that the pomegranate tree comprised another favorite plant in the garden, for these shrubs are set neatly between large coniferous trees (Fig. 6). The fruits appear in characteristic outline form among the leafy branches.

The single representation of another plant provides a further addition to the royal garden, dense with colorful vegetation.<sup>8</sup> The low growing shrub has large leaves spreading out in opposite directions and from the center rise several small stems with terminal berry-like flowers.<sup>9</sup> This plant can be identified as the mandrake (*Mandragora*), a Mediterranean herb of the nightshade family. Its early appearance as a decorative element upon an Egyptian wood chest overlaid with ivory, from the tomb of Tutankhamun, indicates that it was long known in antiquity.<sup>10</sup> Egyptian art of the Amarna period also reveals that the plant enjoyed some popularity. Its flower comprises part of a bouquet held by an Egyptian queen, shown on a painted relief;<sup>11</sup> and upon a polychrome tile the mandragora is depicted, showing yellow fruits and green leaves outlined in red-brown.<sup>12</sup>

Although not visible on the extant reliefs of Ashurbanipal, other flowering plants may have been cultivated in the royal garden. On a series of reliefs from Sennacherib's reign (704-681 B.C.), now lost and preserved only in drawings, clusters of tiny round flowers still attached to their leafy stems are arranged in large ovate vessels carried upon the shoulder of attendants.<sup>13</sup> One may speculate further whether roses were numbered among the flowering plants. Rose-gardens were grown in Phrygia by the late eighth century B.C.,<sup>14</sup> and a thorny plant perhaps to be identified as a fruit-bearing member of the rose family, the blackberry,<sup>15</sup> is described in the Assyrian version of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*.<sup>16</sup> Small fruits resembling berries are one of several edible items brought on trays by Sennacherib's servants, presumably for a feast, shown on another portion of the now lost reliefs.<sup>17</sup> The other fesh fruits consist of figs, grapes, pomegranates, and olives still on the branches (?); these form part of the royal meal that includes, too, locusts on skewers, birds, and hares.<sup>18</sup>

The luxuriant garden of Ashurbanipal may have

been embellished with one or more ponds covered with floating water lilies (*Nymphaea*), an aquatic plant derived ultimately from Egypt.<sup>19</sup> This assumption is made plausible by the appearance of the sweet-scented flower held in the upraised hand of the Assyrian king during the banquet (Fig. 7), a scene that occurs on the upper register of the reliefs from Room S. Moreover the inclusion of a pond in the royal park is attested on the Assyrian reliefs as early as the reign of Sargon II (722-705 B.C.).<sup>20</sup>

A most unusual aspect of the garden is the inclusion of grapevines, their tendrils branching out in several directions. The coniferous trees around which the vines twist can be identified by their thin linear leaves arranged in five-needled radial clusters to the twigs as members of the Pine Family, probably the white pine (Fig. 8). A second type in the garden belonging to the same tree family has foliage consisting of long linear leaves extending outward from the branches in a manner that is similar to the cypress or spruce tree (Fig. 9).<sup>21</sup> The main trunk of the pine tree with the entwined vine shows evidence of pruning since large shallow stumps are all that remain of the lower branches. Its upper branches are drawn decoratively as up-curving arms. The motif of a vine twisted around a tree is the earliest known representation showing the technique of training vines "wedded" to trees, and is one of the six methods of viticulture commonly used by Roman times.<sup>22</sup> As the reliefs reveal, furthermore, the pine trees supporting the mature vines are planted some distance apart and this indicates that Ashurbanipal's garden included an *arbustum*, a type of culture that was fully understood by Assyrian viticulturists. Elsewhere on the reliefs from Room S the wedded vines are pruned in an ornamental manner so that a single vine on each of the paired trees spreads out and, together, these form a natural canopy for the banqueting king, reclining on his couch, and his consort (Fig. 10).<sup>23</sup> The overhanging vines were probably originally trellised with rope or reed which is here omitted for esthetic reasons.<sup>24</sup> These vines terminate in forked tendrils, the outer ones curled into fine volutes (Fig. 11). The careful rendering of the vines describes how the cluster of grapes and the deeply veined five-lobed leaves sprout from the main stalk (Fig. 12).

Texts of Ashurbanipal seem to offer little information concerning the care of vineyards during this period.<sup>25</sup> However, grapevines are known to have constituted one of the many plants of

the Assyrian royal garden as early as the ninth century B.C., when they are mentioned together with many other plants and trees collected by Ashurnasirpal II during his campaigns, and subsequently planted in the grounds surrounding his palace at Calah.<sup>26</sup> On one now lost relief dated to this period grapevines occur growing just beyond a walled town constructed upon a mound and under siege by the Assyrian army.<sup>27</sup> The city is not identified and its geographical location remains uncertain, although the inclusion of a vineyard may indicate that this area was notable as a wine-producing region.<sup>28</sup> The vines are drawn spread low above the ground and illustrate a method of vine training commonly used throughout many parts of the world.

Grapevines do not appear again on the Assyrian wall reliefs until the early seventh century B.C., in the reign of Sennacherib. Among the many scenes depicting that king's campaigns in Palestine, vineyards are shown situated outside walled cities. One such vineyard is seen in the terrain surrounding Lachish.<sup>29</sup> There the vines grow standing alone without props and pruned to give the appearance of small trees (Fig. 13). Some of these vines may have been trained with a rectangular frame, producing arms laid out in four directions in star shape (Fig. 14).<sup>30</sup> Interspersed among the vines are flourishing fig trees. On another series of reliefs dealing with a similar geographic region, outside a city identified as "*-alammu*", a vineyard with the same vine culture is partially visible behind a high enclosure (Fig. 15); there, each planted vine alternates with a tree possessing small elongated leaves (probably an olive tree).<sup>31</sup>

Like his predecessors, Sennacherib ordered a park containing local and imported plants to be situated near his new palace at Nineveh.<sup>32</sup> In conjunction with this he had a large aqueduct constructed and channeled into small irrigation ditches to increase the water supply for the orchards and vineyards within and near Nineveh.<sup>33</sup> The series of large reliefs depicting the stages in the construction of Sennacherib's "Palace without a Rival" show a hilly terrain near the palace site. Planted upon it are a variety of shrubs and trees, including fig trees and grapevines.<sup>34</sup> Several of the vines grow close to coniferous trees and occasionally vine branches emerge from behind such trees. The occurrence of these two flora—grapevines and coniferous trees—growing in close proximity in the wilderness is attested by

Fig. 1



Fig. 2

Fig. 3



Fig. 4

Fig. 5



Fig. 6

another relief, now lost, illustrating Sennacherib and his army marching past a dense forest of huge pine trees in a rugged mountainous region through which flows a wide river alive with fish.<sup>35</sup> Immediately beyond the forest a large portion of the terrain has been cleared for the cultivation of tree-like grapevines. We may surmise that this scene illustrates Sennacherib's fifth campaign and that the region is to be located near the country of Urartu which is known for its Cypress, Plane, and Pine forests.<sup>36</sup> According to the texts of his predecessor, Sargon II, the cultivated lands of Urartu included extensive vineyards, a feature of the terrain confirmed by the inscriptions of eighth century B.C. Urartian kings which mention the construction of buildings, vineyards, and irrigation canals.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, Sargon II describes many of the fortified cities of the region "like (wild) grapevines growing on the mountain-(side)."<sup>38</sup> His graphic report may allude to the knowledge that vines in a wild state will climb to the tops of the tallest trees. From this one may infer the possibility that the wedded vine culture was practiced in this region—or in another region in Anatolia where viticulture occurred close to a pine forest—whence it was introduced into Assyria.<sup>39</sup>

The grapevine or its fruit appears several times in Near Eastern art in contexts that seem to have religious significance. Its most notable occurrence is upon the anthropomorphic form of the deity Santas, carved into the hillside at Ivriz in the Taurus Mountains.<sup>40</sup> There the prominent vine twists obliquely around the torso of the divine figure who holds in his outstretched hand ears of grain and wavy streams of water flowing downward. The deity is confronted by the figure of king Urballa of Tyana, a contemporary of the Assyrian king Tiglath Pileser III (744-727 B.C.), who stands with both hands upraised to his face in the traditional Anatolian gesture of prayer.<sup>41</sup> The deity Santas, decorated with thriving plants, reflects a later version of fertility gods depicted in the Near East as early as the third millennium B.C., during the Akkad Dynasty.<sup>42</sup> One exceptional early example is the large alabaster cult plaque found in Ashur and dated to the Middle Assyrian period, ca. 1400 B.C.<sup>43</sup> Carved in relief is a fertility deity *en face*, dressed in a garment designed with a scale pattern, the traditional symbol of the mountains. In each hand he grips a branch having three cone-shaped terminal leaves. A similar branch grows on each side of his body. Above are two flanking goats nibbling on the

branches. The god is accompanied by two small goddesses who hold in each hand a vessel from which streams of water flow. In contrast to the Assyrian and other early representations of fertility deities, Santas introduces a new plant, grapes on the vine, which by its position and size indicates it to be an essential aspect of the god.<sup>44</sup>

A fragmentary plaque from Nimrud, dated to the second half of the eighth century B.C., furnishes a second example illustrating grapes in a setting with religious implications.<sup>45</sup> As reconstructed, in the upper center is an elaborate winged disk, and emerging from its sides are tendrils with grape clusters. Below, two persons in Assyrianizing costumes confront each other and raise one arm to grasp the fruit. The divine relationship between the winged solar disk and the grapevine is evident.<sup>46</sup>

A cluster of grapes recurs in a third art work, on an eighth century B.C. funerary stele from Marash that depicts a seated man and his wife holding objects.<sup>47</sup> The cluster of grapes held by the man is thought to signify his profession as a wine merchant but it seems more likely to this writer that the fruit is to be interpreted as having symbolic importance, or else it is an attribute of divinity associated with the grapevine.<sup>48</sup> If this assumption is correct, then the mirror held in the hand of the wife likewise has religious meaning. As other works of this period reveal, the possession of a mirror was apparently the prerogative of women. The object is gripped by a young girl standing alongside her parents in a banquet scene carved on another funerary stele from Marash,<sup>49</sup> and on a fragment of a relief in bronze the mirror is held in the hand of the Assyrian queen Naqi'a, wife of Sennacherib, mother of Esarhaddon, and grandmother of Ashurbanipal.<sup>50</sup> The queen stands immediately behind her son in a scene of adoration. Furthermore, several eighth-seventh century B.C. representations of the Anatolian goddess Hubaba carved upon stelae show her holding a mirror, her distinctive attribute during this period.<sup>51</sup>

The notion of divinity associated with a plant, notably a tree, is not strange for Near Eastern iconography, as the sacred tree held a prominent position in Assyrian art. Its religious nature is stressed, for example, on a bas-relief that originally decorated the wall behind the throne of Ashurnasirpal II. The elaborately-drawn tree appears in the center of a symmetrically composed group, flanked on each side by the king and a winged deity, while above, the god Ashur emerges



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9

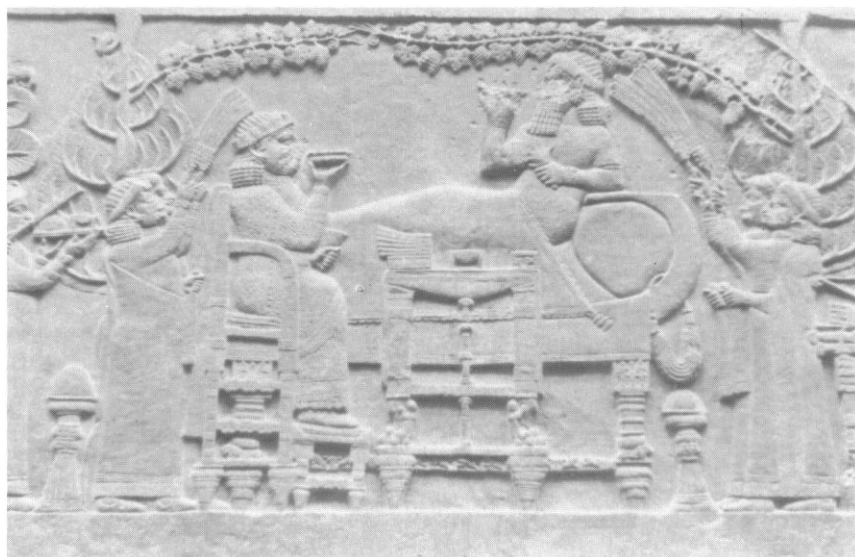


Fig. 10

Fig. 11

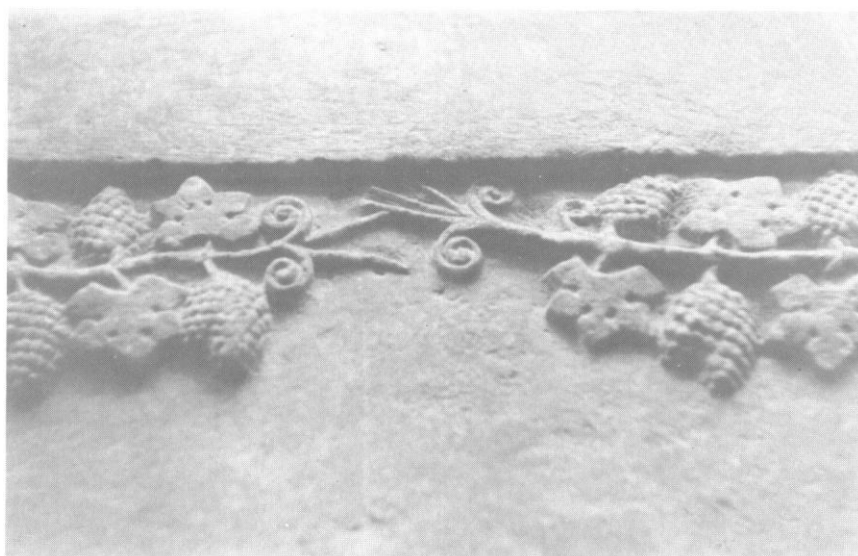


Fig. 12

from a winged disk.<sup>52</sup> This scene symbolizes fertility for both the king and the tree. The desire for fertility and growth of crops in the land is most probably the meaning behind the watering of small potted trees by such early Mesopotamian rulers as Ur-Nammu, who is shown performing the ritual before enthroned deities on his stele.<sup>53</sup> Of related significance is the introduction of the grapevine as another plant to be assimilated with a fertility deity, an event we suggest coincided with the increasingly important and widespread development of viticulture in the Near East, during the early centuries of the first millennium B.C.

Returning to the pictorial version of the "vine entwined around a tree", it is curious that its appearance in the royal garden shows the full

development of a motif for which there is, at present, no precedent.<sup>54</sup> This rendering as a type is not to be confused with the technical facility displayed, which can be easily explained by the skills of the artisans who carved the bas-reliefs. The prominence given to the use of the wedded vine motif as a continuous backdrop for the large garden scene, and particularly as an architectural framework for the banqueting king and his consort, suggests that this method of viticulture was newly introduced into Assyria. Moreover, since it has been demonstrated that in art works grapevines were sometimes depicted associated with divinity in some manner, the postulation that the wedded vine motif on the Assyrian wall reliefs may likewise embody religious intent deserves serious consideration.

\* The photographs were taken by the writer. I am grateful to the Trustees of the British Museum for allowing the art works to be studied without restrictions. Abbreviations used: *ANET*<sup>2</sup> = J. B. Pritchard, (ed.) *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 2nd ed. (Princeton, 1955); *ARAB* = D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (Chicago, 1926; reprint, 1968) 2 vols.; *5000 Years* = E. Strommenger, *5000 Years of the Art of Mesopotamia* (New York, n.d.); *Mesopotamia* = A. Moortgat, *The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia* (New York and London, 1969); *Plant Life* = C. Hylander, *The World of Plant Life*, 2nd ed. (London, 1956).

<sup>1</sup> See: Strommenger, *5000 Years*, pls. 244-45, p. 453; Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pl. 283, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pls. 273-274. The entire sequence of scenes dealing with the royal hunt in the reign of Sargon II is found in Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninivé*, II (Paris, 1849) pls. 107-14.

<sup>3</sup> This recalls the "paradise" theme encountered in literature, cf. S. N. Kramer in *ANET*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 37-41; and in art upon a Kassite boundary stone, cf. Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pls. 231-32, pp. 102-3.

<sup>4</sup> Hylander, *Plant Life*, pp. 479ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 546-52.

<sup>6</sup> C. J. Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria* (London, 1936) pl. 40.

<sup>7</sup> This fragmentary relief is one of six recently acquired by the British Museum. See: *British Museum Quarterly* 34 (1970) 193 and 36 (1972) 136 (several of the fragments are illustrated).

<sup>8</sup> Archaeological evidence indicates that the Assyrian wall reliefs were originally painted partially or fully. The colors which have been chiefly distinguished are blue, red, yellow, black, white. Moreover, at Khorsabad these colors occurred with the addition of yellow and green. A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and Its Remains* (New York, 1856) pp. 241-43. For a discussion regarding the sources of the colors, see R. C. Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology* (Oxford, 1936) pp. 81-83.

<sup>9</sup> Strommenger, *5000 Years*, pl. 245.

<sup>10</sup> See: Langer and Hirmer, *Egypt. Architecture. Sculpture. Painting in Three Thousand Years* (New York, 1956) pl. 193, p.

334; C. Aldred, *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt During the Eighteenth Dynasty, 1570 to 1320 B.C.* (London, 1961) pl. 154, p. 87.

<sup>11</sup> C. Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (New York, 1973) no. 120, pp. 188-89.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 160, p. 216. The unusual place this plant held in ancient folklore is remarked upon by R. C. Cleveland in *JAOS* 93 (1973) pp. 201-2.

<sup>13</sup> A. Paterson, *Assyrian Sculptures. Palace of Sinacherib* (The Hague, 1915) pl. 88.

<sup>14</sup> R. D. Barnett, *Cambridge Ancient History*, II, chap. XXX (rev. ed., 1967) 19.

<sup>15</sup> *CAD*, s.v. *amurdinnu*. I owe this reference to Professor Stephen L. Lieberman.

<sup>16</sup> E. A. Speiser in *ANET*<sup>2</sup>, p. 96.

<sup>17</sup> Paterson, *Sinacherib*, pl. 89.

<sup>18</sup> For a description of a royal feast given by king Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.), in which many kinds of foods are enumerated, see J. B. Pritchard, (ed.) *The Ancient Near East. Supplementary Texts and Pictures Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton, 1969) p. 124.

<sup>19</sup> Hylander, *Plant Life*, pp. 602-3. The rendering of the water lily already appears in the reign of Sargon II, for that king likewise holds the blue flower in his hand. See Botta and Flandin, *Ninivé*, pl. 113. In more decorative manner it was used together with the palmette, rosette (similar to the sunflower), and pine cone in an elaborate design that covered the alabaster threshold from the palace of Sennacherib, cf. Strommenger, *5000 Years*, pl. 230, p. 449. A similarly designed threshold was found in the palace of Ashurbanipal. H. Schmökel, *Ur, Assur und Babylon* (Stuttgart, 1958) Tafel 109.

<sup>20</sup> Botta and Flandin, *Ninivé*, pl. 114.

<sup>21</sup> Hylander, *Plant Life*, pp. 144ff.

<sup>22</sup> W. F. Jashemski, "The Discovery of a Large Vineyard at Pompeii: University of Maryland Excavations, 1970," *AJA* 77 (1973) 33-36. For further reading concerning this vineyard, see *idem. Archaeology* 25 (1972) 48-56, 132-39.

<sup>23</sup> The writer is presently preparing for publication a reconstruction of the landscape reliefs containing this important

Fig. 13

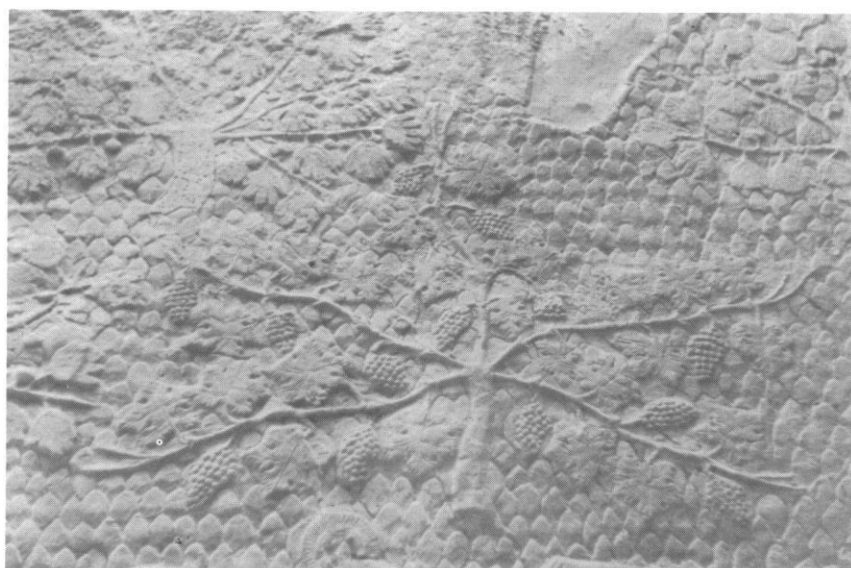


Fig. 14

Fig. 15



scene, based upon the original drawings and extant fragments. For a comprehensive study of the *symposion* theme, see J. M. Dentzer, "Aux origines de l'iconographie du banquet couché," *Revue Archéologique* (1971) 215-58. I am grateful to Dr. Oscar W. Muscarella for drawing my attention to this article.

<sup>24</sup> This method appears in an 18th Dynasty Egyptian wall painting. See N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes* (New York, 1917) pls. XXII-XXIII, pp. 69-70.

<sup>25</sup> Land sales of the seventh century B.C. dealing with gardens, orchards, or plantations, are vague regarding the specific types of cultivation undertaken on these properties. C. H. W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents. Recording the Transfer of Property*, IV (London, 1923) 29ff.; 200ff.

<sup>26</sup> A. L. Oppenheim in *ANET, Supplement*, pp. 122-23. The Assyrian custom of filling the royal garden with imported plants occurs as early as the reign of Tiglath Pileser I (ca. 1100 B.C.); see Luckenbill, *ARAB*, I, 87. According to Oppenheim, however, the custom of incorporating a royal garden for display purposes or personal pleasure only, first occurs in the Sargonid period. "On Royal Gardens in Mesopotamia," *JNES* 24 (1965) 331.

<sup>27</sup> R. D. Barnett and M. Falkner, *The Sculptures of Assurnasir-Apli II (883-859 B.C.) Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B.C.) Esarhaddon (681-669 B.C.)* (London, 1962) pl. CXVIII.

<sup>28</sup> Barnett and Falkner believe that this relief originally adjoined another relief on which a rope and pulley is represented, *ibid.*, p. 25. However see this writer's study of the rope and pulley in *BASOR*, No. 206 (1972) 42-48.

<sup>29</sup> Paterson, *Sinacherib*, pls. 71-73.

<sup>30</sup> For the description of this method of viticulture, see Jashemski, *loc. cit.* (n. 22).

<sup>31</sup> The entire series of these reliefs is illustrated in Paterson, *Sinacherib*, pls. 39, 98.

<sup>32</sup> Luckenbill, *ARAB*, II, pp. 159-60, 170ff.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* Such a scene showing a royal park on a hillside, watered by an aqueduct and irrigation canals, is found among the large reliefs of Ashurbanipal. Cf. H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (paperback edition, 1970) fig. 207, p. 183.

<sup>34</sup> Paterson, *Sinacherib*, pls. 32-35.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 16.

<sup>36</sup> Luckenbill, *ARAB*, II, 122-23, 144-45. On the Pine forests of this region see the remarks of M. B. Rowton, "The Woodlands of Ancient Western Asia," *JNES*, 26 (1967) 273.

<sup>37</sup> G. Azarpay, *Uartian Art and Artifacts. A Chronological Study* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968) pp. 18, 45.

<sup>38</sup> Luckenbill, *ARAB*, II, 33ff., 84ff.

<sup>39</sup> The Taurus region contains Pine forests, see Rowton, *JNES*, 26 (1967) 264. Tribute presented to Ashurnasirpal II by the kings of this region included wine; see Luckenbill, *ARAB*, I, 178-79.

<sup>40</sup> E. Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites* (London, 1962) pls. XXIV, 140.

<sup>41</sup> Urballa belonged to a coalition of Tabalian princes who fought against the Assyrian king. See Barnett, *op. cit.* (n. 14), pp. 10-11.

<sup>42</sup> E. Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, The Bollingen Series XIV (New York, 1948) figs. 207-14.

<sup>43</sup> Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pl. 236, pp. 111-12.

<sup>44</sup> The standard combination of thriving plants and flowing water as attributes appropriate for a deity of fertility is demonstrated in a text, in a prayer to the god Ninurta in this aspect; see S. N. Kramer in *ANET, Supplement*, pp. 140-41.

<sup>45</sup> Strommenger, *5000 Years*, pl. 266, p. 455.

<sup>46</sup> The subject recurs on an orthostat relief from Sakçegözü, illustrated in Akurgal, *Hittites*, pl. 134, *idem*, *The Art of Greece. Its Origins in the Mediterranean and Near East* (New York, 1968) pl. 15a, p. 59.

<sup>47</sup> Akurgal, *Hittites*, pl. 139, p. 139.

<sup>48</sup> Akurgal recognizes a symbolic character in the appearance of such items as food or an ear of grain on other funerary stelae of this period. But see his conclusions regarding other objects, *The Art of Greece*, pp. 129ff.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 28.

<sup>50</sup> A. Parrot and J. Nougayrol, "Asarhaddon et Naqi'a sur un bronze du Louvre (AO 20.185)," *Syria* 33 (1956) pl. VI.

<sup>51</sup> M. Vieyra, *Hittite Art. 2300-750 B.C.* (London, 1955) pls. 51, 59, 65, pp. 71, 73, 75. For a discussion of this goddess in later periods, see Hanfmann and Waldbaum, "Kybele and Artemis: Two Anatolian Goddesses at Sardis," *Archaeology* 22 (1969) 264-69.

<sup>52</sup> Strommenger, *5000 Years*, pl. 191, p. 439.

<sup>53</sup> Moortgat, *Mesopotamia*, pls. 194, 210.

<sup>54</sup> Except for the substitution of the poplar tree for the pine, this motif remained unchanged till recent times. Its appearance in paintings remains symbolic; cf. M. Kahr, "Delilah," *The Art Bulletin* 54 (1972) 287-88. Modern vineyards in Italy still use the poplar to stake the vines, a technique followed since antiquity. Regarding this, see the observations of W. F. Jashemski in *AJA* 72 (1968) 73.